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C O N F I D E N T I A L TEL AVIV 1364

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UN, IS

SUBJECT: MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS: ISRAELI VIEWS

REFS: (A) 75 STATE 303856, (B) STATE 13264, (C) STATE 29255,
(D) STATE 37591, (E) STATE 37592

BEGIN SUMMARY: ISRAEL'S TRADITIONALLY FRIENDLY PREDISPOSITION TOWARD INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS HAS BEEN SHATTERED BY THE CURRENT SITUATION IN THE UN. THE EASE WITH WHICH ARAB STATES CAN CALL UPON 90-100 VOTES ON GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTIONS HOSTILE TO ISRAEL MEANS THERE IS NO POSSIBILITY OF ISRAELI INTERESTS BEING ADEQUATELY CONSIDERED THERE. THIS IN TURN SHARPLY DECREASES ISRAELI PUBLIC UNDERSTANDING OF AND SUPPORT FOR UN PEACEKEEPING INSTITUTIONS. NEVERTHELESS, THE GOI WILL CONTINUE TO TRY TO USE THE UN AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL FORA TO EXPLAIN ITS POLICIES AND STRONGLY SUPPORTS U.S. POSITIONS AND ACTIONS OUTLINED IN REFTELS, WHICH IT CONSIDERS "LONG OVERDUE." END SUMMARY.

1. IN ACCORDANCE WITH REFTELS A AND C, POLITICAL COUNSELOR JOHN CRUMP HAS BEEN DESIGNATED AS THE EMBASSY'S MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS OFFICER. ON FEBRUARY 24, HE DISCUSSED WITH MORDECHAI KIDRON, MFA OFFICIAL IN CHARGE OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, THE SUBSTANCE OF REFTELS. KIDRON MADE THE FOLLOWING POINTS IN RESPONSE.

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2. GOI AND ISRAELI PUBLIC OPINION WERE ORIGINALLY FAVORABLY DISPOSED TOWARD THE UNITED NATIONS AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS THIS BASIC ATTITUDE DERIVED FROM THE HISTORICALLY FAVORABLE SUPPORT GIVEN TO THE ZIONIST MOVEMENT BY INTERNATIONAL GROUPS, INCLUDING THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND THE UNITED NATIONS IN ITS EARLY DAYS. THIS BASIC ATTITUDE ALSO REFLECTED THE ISRAELI VIEW THAT SMALL COUNTRIES TRADITIONALLY HAVE BEEN HELPED AND SUPPORTED BY INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS. HOWEVER, THIS FRIENDLY PRE- DISPOSITION HAS BEEN "COMPLETELY SHATTERED" BY EXPERIENCES AT THE UN IN RECENT YEARS.

3. THESE EXPERIENCES HAVE BEEN CAUSED BY THE GROWTH OF ARAB STRENGTH IN THE UN. FROM A BEGINNING OFFIVE OR SIX ARAB COUNTRIES TO MORE THAN 20 TODAY, THE NUMERICAL AND ECONOMIC STRENGTH OF THE ARAB COUNTRIES GIVE THEM CONTROL ON ANY MATTER WHICH THEY CONSIDER VITAL TO THEIR INTERESTS. BECAUSE THEY CAN COUNT ON THE SUPPORT OF VARIOUS BLOCS -- THE NON-ALIGNED, THE GROUP OF 77, THE SOVIET BLOC, OTHER MUSLIM NON-ARAB COUNTRIES -- THEY CAN DEPEND UPON 90-100 VOTES IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND IN OTHER GENERAL CONFERENCES OF SPECIALIZED AGENCIES. THIS SUPPORT IS ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY USED BY THE ARABS IN DIPLOMATIC MOVES AGAINST ISRAEL.

4. THE GOI THEREFORE SEES NO CHANCE OF ITS VIEWS BEING HEARD IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS TODAY AND NO POSSIBILITY OF ISRAELI INTERESTS BEING ADEQUATELY REFLECTED. ANY DISTORTION, ALLEGATION, OR CONDEMNATION CAN BE ADOPTED AS A RESOLUTION. FOR EXAMPLE, ISRAELI ACTIVITIES IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES HAVE BEEN BRANDED AS "WAR CRIMES" IN UN HUMAN RIGHTS BODIES AND , OF COURSE, THE RECENT GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION EQUATING ZIONISM WITH RACISM IS ANOTHER EXAMPLE. THE GOI IS STRONGLY SUPPORTED IN THIS ASSESSMENT OF THE UN BY ISRAELI PUBLIC OPINION, AND PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR THE UN HAS TOTALLY DISAPPEARED. KIDRON ADDED THAT THE SUPPORT OF THE GENERAL PUBLIC BEGAN TO DROP IN THE LATE 60'S ALTHOUGH EXPERTS IN THE MFA BEGAN TO HAVE LITTLE DOUBT ABOUT WHERE THE ORGANIZATION WAS GOING ON ARAB-ISRAELI MATTERS AS EARLY AS 1953.

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5. ONE RESULT OF THIS CHANGE IN PUBLIC OPINION IS THE DIFFICULTY OF EXPLAINING TO THE ISRAELI PRESS AND PUBLIC THE CONTINUED GOI SUPPORT FOR UNEF AND ITS HIGH REGARD FOR GENERAL SIILASVUO. THE EFFORTS OF THE UN SECRETARY GENERAL AND MEMBERS OF HIS STAFF (FOR EXAMPLE, THE CURRENT TRIP OF UNDER SECRETARY GENERAL GUYER) ARE AUTOMATICALLY REGARDED WITH SUSPICION AND THEIR VIEWS REGARDING PEACE MAKING IN

THE MIDDLE EAST ARE FELT TO BE HOPELESSLY BIASED.

6. KIDRON SAID THAT THE GOI STRONGLY SUPPORTS THE MEASURES DISCUSSED IN REFTELS AND ADDED THE OPINION THAT THEY WERE IN FACT LONG OVERDUE. HE CITED RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN UNESCO (CANCELLATION OF SCHEDULED MEETINGS DEALING WITH SUBJECTS OF INTEREST TO ARAB COUNTRIES) AS A NECESSARY ILLUSTRATION THAT THERE IS A LIMIT TO WHAT THE WEST CAN ACCEPT. HE SAID THE GOI WOULD BE PLEASED TO COOPERATE FULLY WITH THE U.S. ON THESE MATTERS IN THE FUTURE.

7. THE FOLLOWING COMMENTS ARE PROVIDED IN RESPONSE TO THE QUESTIONS IN PARA 7 OF REF (D). (A) THE PRIMARY INTEREST OF ISRAEL IN MULTILATERAL FORA IN 1976 IS TO USE ALL OPPORTUNITIES TO EXPLAIN ISRAELI POLICIES AND POSITIONS. THIS POLICY WILL CONTINUE, ALTHOUGH THE GOI REALISTICALLY DOES NOT EXPECT MANY POSITIVE RESULTS. (B) GOI DECISIONS ON SPECIFIC MULTILATERAL ISSUES ARE AFFECTED ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY BY ACTIONS OF THE ARAB STATES. THE GOI DOES NOT, OF COURSE, HAVE ANY INFLUENCE AT ALL ON THOSE STATES, ALTHOUGH IT DOES ATTEMPT TO INFLUENCE THE VIEWS OF OTHER COUNTRIES, PARTICULARLY AFRICAN AND LATIN AMERICAN, ON SOME ISSUES. (C) THE GOI GIVE ITS DELEGATION TO THE UN NO LATITUDE AT ALL ON ANY ISSUES RELATED TO PEACEMAKING IN THE MIDDLE EAST. (AS THE DEPARTMENT IS AWARE, THOSE MATTERS ARE HELD CLOSELY BY RABIN, PERES, AND ALLON.) ON OTHER MORE GENERAL MATTERS, THE ISRAELI UN DELEGATION IS GIVEN GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS AND PERMITTED TO DEVELOP ITS INDIVIDUAL TACTICS; THOSE INSTRUCTIONS ARE GENERALLY DRAFTED BY KIDRON HIMSELF. HOWEVER, THE ISRAELI DELEGATION AT THE UN IS GIVEN CONSIDERABLY MORE LATITUDE IN THIS REGARD THAN ISRAELI DELEGATES AT PARIS, GENEVA AND OTHER SPECIALIZED OR REGIONAL MEETINGS KIDRON COMMENTED THAT

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WHILE INDIVIDUAL DELEGATES MAY BE GIVEN LATITUDE TO CARRY OUT GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS, THEY ARE QUICKLY "PULLED UP SHORT" IF THEY DEVIATE FROM THESE GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS. (D) ISRAELI REPRESENTATIVES AT NEW YORK AND ELSEWHERE DO NOT HAVE INDEPENDENT POLITICAL POWER. (E) AS INDICATED ABOVE, THE GOI IS EAGER TO COOPERATE AND CONSULT WITH THE U.S. ON THESE ISSUES.

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